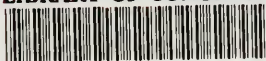


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SOME OBJECTIONS

MR. CRAWFORD

AS A CANDIDATE

FOR THE PRESIDENTIAL CHAIR,

WITH

A FEW REMARKS

ON

THE CHARGES PREFERRED AGAINST

SOUTH-CAROLINA

As being "in error, and uncertain in her Politics,"

BY A SOUTH-CAROLINEAN.

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THE distance of the writer from the Press has prevented an examination of the proof sheets in due time, so that several errors have intervened, which the writer desired to correct.

In the title page, for "Carolinean" read "Carolinian."

In the 5th page and 17th line, for "prepared" read "prepare."

In the 6th page 3rd line, for "editors" read "orders."

In the 7th page in 6th line from the bottom, for "turned" read "teamed."

In the 9th page, for "warned" read "warmed."

In the 14th page, for "genious" read "genius."

In the 18th page, for "germe" read "germ."

In the 20th page, for "bases" read "oasis."

In 21st page 1st line of the note, for "Southren" read "Southern."

Some of the objections to Mr. CRAWFORD as a candidate for President of the United States, specifically stated ; caused by a book lately published in Columbia, urging his pretensions to that Office on the People of South-Carolina.

A careful perusal of the book above alluded to, will shew that but few of the objections of the people of South Carolina against Mr. Crawford, for the important office to which he so ardently aspires, are noticed, and those which have attracted the attention of "the Author," are passed over with merely a slight observation, or are unfairly met, or superficially answered. It is not my intention to go into the details of this great labor of 63 pages, or to answer them further than a plain undisguised statement of my objections will have that effect.

"The Author" of the book asserts that the people of this state have been unduly and unfairly excited and prejudiced against Mr. C. This, as a general proposition, is by no means true. His desires for that office have been known to the people *here* ever since his memorable Caucus contest with Mr. Monroe in 1816, a period of eight years, and the prominence of the offices which he has filled, has caused his political course to have been viewed with deliberation and fairness for a much longer time. It is therefore entirely incorrect to insinuate that the people, as a body, have been improperly, or suddenly excited against *him* or any other candidate. It is true however that there is excitement against him, and very general excitement, but this arises from the circumstance that a man against whom there are so many and such weighty objections, should persevere against the wishes of the people, and not from any personal hostility to, or prejudice against him.

That there may not be the shadow of ground for complaint upon this score, I shall state my objections in *numerical* order, in so condensed a form as to preclude passion or declamation, and in language as gentle and moderate as may be compatible with a faithful and just com-

munication of my ideas. I shall not therefore set out with a vain boast of my candor and impartiality; of these the people will judge. Some of my objections may be entitled to less weight than I am disposed to give them, but if *many* of them do not merit the deepest consideration, then will I admit that I am utterly unfit to judge of political *men* or *measures*. I am so located that I cannot have immediate access to the documents of the different departments of the Executive, or Journals of Congress, but I pledge myself to state but few, if any facts, which are not either matters of general concession and notoriety, or established by the published documents or speeches of the persons referred to.

1. As Mr. Crawford is brought forward as the *uniform* and *exclusive Republican* of the *Jefferson school*, my first objection to him is that he commenced his political career as a *Federalist*, by acting as the chairman of a committee of five, in Augusta, Geo. on the 2d. July, 1798, having drafted and sanctioned an address to President Adams, amidst the excitement produced by the most violent measures of his administration, expressing "*the most unlimited confidence in the firmness, justice and wisdom of that administration.*" The Alien law was approved on the 25th of June, 1798; the Sedition law on the 14th July, 1798,* and several other of the most offensive acts were passed before, and about the time of the address, so as not only to have been known at Augusta, at that time, but to have caused the greatest excitement throughout the Union. These laws were in progress and discussion sometime before they were approved. The address at length is to be found on the files of the Augusta Chronicle, published at that time.

I will merely ask what sort of a *republican* was he, who, in 1798, had "*the most unlimited confidence*" in the wisdom and justice of the *Alien and Sedition laws*, and other measures, which were then the only tests of Federalists and Republicans? What sort of a Republican of the *Jefferson school*, must he be who approved of the very measures, by the odium of which Mr. Ad-

*See 3 Vol. Laws U. S. pages 66, 74, 97, &c

ains was prostrated, and Mr. Jefferson elected? The author of Mr. Crawford's book slides over this by a sweeping assertion, *in the teeth of Mr. C's recorded act.*

2. As a further objection and proof that Mr. Crawford opposed the true Republican doctrine, as a member of the Senate of the United States in 1807, he voted against the Embargo, a measure recommended by Mr. Jefferson to save our immense mercantile capital from the desolating sweep of the French decrees, and British orders in council. The support of the administration in that measure was the touch-stone of Republicanism. This is apparent from the fact that Mr. Crawford voted in a small minority. (I think five in number.) *all* violent Federalists, with Mr. Pickering* at their head. (*See the Journals of the Senate.*)

3. Mr. Crawford voted against the repeal of the Embargo in 1809, when Mr. Jefferson and the Republican party had determined to abandon it, and prepared for more vigorous measures.

Now those who condemn the Embargo as a substitute for war, admit that it was a wise, necessary and all-important measure *preparatory* for war.—of course it was expedient when Mr. C. voted against it, and unwise in its continuance, when he voted for it—What a tissue of disastrous contradictions! Always changing, *always wrong, and always against the administration.*—Against that administration of which he is held up as the strictest follower and exclusive friend.

4. Mr. Crawford, just before the close of Mr. Jefferson's administration, was notoriously attached to a party of which Mr. Randolph, (who had become dissatisfied with Mr. Jefferson,) was at the head. They did not hesitate to praise each other, and find fault, almost constantly, with the administration. I have the authority of more than one member of the then Congress, for the truth of this; and in confirmation of Mr. Crawford's hostile feelings towards the *Republican* administration,

* Mr. Pickering, Mr. Otis, and other distinguished Federal leaders, aided by the N. York Evening Post, and other Federal presses, are at this moment aiding Mr. Crawford.

he delivered a pointed and personal philippic against Mr. Madison, on account of the message of Mr. M. detailing the injuries inflicted by the British editors, and recommending Congress to put the nation in a state of defence. He characterized the message as having "the ambiguity of a response from the Delphic Oracle," contended against a war, averring that the Embargo ought to have been adhered to. Does this look like being a friend to the war, and of those measures necessary for its vigorous prosecution?

5. When the war became inevitable, at a later period, Mr. Crawford opposed the erection of a Navy, pronouncing it "*worse than ridiculous to think of defending our commerce by a Navy.*" This he did, when every politician of sagacity must have been convinced of the folly and impotence of declaring war against Great Britain without a Navy. I admit that he did finally vote for the war, but I deny that he did support it warmly, or those measures upon which its success depended. We have seen that he opposed the great engine by which it was supported—the most cheap, least dangerous, and most efficient means of defence and protection to the nation. His speech against the Navy has been published and can be referred to. We have seen no speech from him in favor of the war, or one of its measures, nor was such an one ever published. His speech against the Navy was delivered on the 2d February, 1810, in which he pronounced it a fungus on the body politic which ought to be amputated—that the nation had spent on it about 12,000,000 of dollars, &c.

6. Altho' the war was a time of the most imminent peril the nation had seen since the revolution, and calculated to elicit the highest efforts of the patriot statesman in the councils of the Republic at home, yet shortly after it was declared, we see Mr. Crawford taking refuge from responsibility and danger in a foreign court, (France,) where no great or extraordinary object was to be effected, and where no service, so far as I have ever heard, was rendered. There he remained till the storm had subsided. Was this the course of a great statesman, or an ar-

dent patriot fitted to stand at the helm and guide the vessel of state?

7. But altho' Mr. Crawford did not breast the shock of war, yet shortly after the return of peace, we find him ambitiously aspiring to that high office which a *grateful people had almost unanimously designated for the long services and recent self-devotion of Mr. Monroe.* This is certainly the most censurable act which could occur in the political life of any man under such circumstances. I know it is said that he did not seek, but retired from the contest. From the existing circumstances, no impartial man can believe it. He could have stopped by a single decided command, the exertions of his friends. He ought not to have hesitated a moment to have done so, because he *must* have known that he was not the choice of the people. From his political progress thitherto, he must have known that then he had not been thought of by the nation. His nomination would have overwhelmed the people with surprize and astonishment!

It is true that Dr. Bibb, a friend of his, did, under some pretext, write a letter in which he stated that Mr. Crawford "*did not wish to be considered one of those from whom a choice was to be made.*" Upon the very face of this letter there is nothing positive.—It in fact amounts to an invitation to his friends to persevere. It was almost literally "*Cæsar putting aside the crown that it might be the more strenuously urged upon him.*" This presumption amounts to certainty, when we see it immediately afterwards declared in the Washington City Gazette, a paper even then devoted to Mr. Crawford, that it was authorized to state that "*nothing in that letter was intended to convey the idea that Mr. Crawford would not permit his name to be used, but that he would yield to the determination of his friends.*" From that time till the caucus, his friends exerted themselves to secure his nomination, and the Gazette turned with denunciations of Mr. Monroe, Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison, and the Virginia dynasty. It was urged in messes and private circles among the members, &c. that he would vacate all offices and fill them with his supporters, thus attempting to purchase the government, with its own

patronage. During all this time, the declaration in the Gazette was never contradicted by Mr. C. or his friends, and it was understood that he stimulated them, at least till he found the game desperate. To illustrate this dark transaction, I shall quote some of the remarks of the National Intelligencer of the 8th April, 1816. As the editors of this paper are now the devoted friends of Mr. Crawford, it is presumed their authority will not be questioned.

They say "our astonishment increases, by retrospection, at the formidable number of the Republican meeting opposed to the nomination of Mr. Monroe. We consult our inclination and probably the interests of the great republican family, in avoiding an examination of the circumstances, a combination of which had nearly produced a nomination IN DIRECT OPPOSITION TO THE PUBLIC WILL."

"It is a fact undisputed, we believe, that the activity and preconcert of the opponents of Mr. Monroe, and a fastidious delicacy of his best friends, which prevented active exertions in support of his nomination, produced a state of things astonishing to most of the good people of the United States, who expected nothing less, than that division of sentiment which prevailed among their representatives. The decided friends of Mr. Monroe were so backward in their exertions, that at one time their opponents, mistaking silent conviction for apathy, looked forward to certain victory. On their part however no exertions were spared. As no labor was too great, so NO MEANS WERE TOO HUMBLE TO AID THEIR OBJECT. Witness the use made of the columns of an ephemeral print in this city to soil the character and lacerate the feelings of their opponents.

"It has been said that the meeting was got up by Mr. Monroe's friends under circumstances peculiarly favorable to their views. This is not true. On the contrary, it was his opponents, flushed with sanguine hopes of success—the result of consultations previously held—it was they who urged the meeting—it was they who concocted it." "It is well known here, that had all the

Republicans attended, his (Mr. Monroe's) majority would have been more than double."

Such is the character of this transaction, and yet it is to his conduct in relation to it, that Mr. Crawford's friends appeal for proof of his unaspiring modesty. Can any man, at all versed in human nature, say that Mr. C's friends were not warned and animated by the mastic spirit? Can any one believe that he was the *unwilling instrument* of all this distracting agitation in the Republican party? Could a man, not dreamed of for the presidency by the people, thus be brought forward and sustained at the very capitol where he dwelt—at his very door, *without his agency or concurrence*. It is impossible!

8. But how has Mr. Monroe's magnanimity and delicacy in failing to discard a political opponent from his cabinet been rewarded? Instead of sustaining the administration as Mr. Crawford was bound to do by every principle which bind men together in relations of confidence, has he not secretly reared a party as violently opposed to Mr. Monroe, as the Federal party ever was to Mr. Jefferson or Mr. Madison. A few years ago, and on its incipency, this party was open and undisguised; assumed the name of Radicals, and accused the most economical administration with which we have ever been blessed, of ruinous extravagance, and held up Mr. Crawford as the great reformer of abuses. But since it is seen that the people frown indignantly upon such an attempt to undermine Mr. Monroe's administration, Mr. C. and friends, disavow the very name of Radical, and profess not to know what is meant by *Radicalism*!

The evidence however has gone abroad, and all the "multitudinous waves" of the ocean would not wash from Mr. Crawford's hands the stain of Radicalism. Let us advert to a few facts which are believed to be incontrovertible. Every Radical in the United States is the friend, and the most of them the active partizans of Mr. Crawford, so far as I know, without an exception.—The Radicals in Congress, *as a party*, have invariably supported him. It was openly predicted by them, that the administration was unpopular and *must* go down. Mr.

Gilmer, of Georgia, a political and personal friend of Mr. C. in a violent attack upon the administration, said, "it would ruin the country, and that he wished to see the line drawn and parties designated." Charged with the views and feelings of Mr. C. he was too honest and candid to conceal them. Dr. Floyd of Virginia, a gentleman of the same honest principles, declared, during the same debate, that "he regretted that the period was so remote that would terminate the administration of Mr. Monroe." The speeches of these two gentlemen and the replies they elicited, were never published, for reasons no doubt, satisfactory to the editors of the *Intelligencer*. If the discussion had taken place before the collected body of the American people, a single doubt would not now remain as to the *existence, the principles, or the ultimate object* of the Radical party. "The Author" of the book might not have suffered as he professes now to do, for the definition of Radicalism.

Hitherto I acknowledge myself greatly indebted to an able address to the people of North Carolina, on the presidential question, published last winter, in which many important facts are collected, from which I have extracted freely, and which I could wish now to see republished *entire*.

I have however other objections to Mr. Crawford, no less weighty than those which have been presented, many of which relate either to his want of talents or want of inclination, properly to perform the duties of the several high offices which he has held.

9. I shall first refer to his acceptance of the office of Secretary of War, which he held for a considerable time, (perhaps two years,) immediately after the late war, and although from the number of incumbents who had held it, and the great confusion of the war, was in a state of great disorganization; yet so far as I have been able to learn, he never did progress a single important step towards reducing it to order, remedying the various evils incident to it, or giving it that complete organization of which it was susceptible in the hands of an able and industrious man, and which would *save time, save money, explore our almost unknown territory, point out the vul-*

erable and assailable points of our coast, recommend the remedy, aid in important works of internal improvement, such as roads, stations, &c. connected with the defences of the country, and render our army as efficient as was practicable. I repeat it, that if Mr. Crawford did take any step towards effecting these important objects, I have never known it, for I would not willingly suppress a single fact redounding to his credit.

10. As Secretary of the Treasury Department, I object to him, because his course has been *negative, hidden or doubtful, weak, illegal and unconstitutional*.

It is impossible in the limits necessarily assigned to such a production as this, to go much into detail, but I will give an example in each particular :

1. His course has been *negative*, which is demonstrated from his uniform timidity and backwardness to sustain the views and policy of the administration in his reports, by marshalling the resources of the nation. His object seems to have been to diminish the funds really existing, instead of drawing other resources into activity to increase the Navy, according to the provisions by law already provided, and to go on with fortifications, &c. I now refer to the years 1820-1821, when Mr. Crawford's friends in Congress, under the popular idea of avoiding internal taxes, (which in no event would have been necessary,) cut down the Army from 10,000 men, to less than 6000, and exerted themselves to cut down the Navy in the same way, to wit, by moving to diminish the permanent appropriation of \$3,000,000 for its increase, down to \$1,500,000, to reduce the number of seamen and boys, and to lay up the ships to be built under cover, *without purchasing those equipments, &c.* indispensable for a speedy outfit in case of emergency ; and the same party did actually suspend the appropriation altogether for some important fortifications, and greatly and injuriously lessened others, though the public faith had been already pledged by contract for carrying them on. The great and deserved popularity of the Navy only saved it, and it was to check this ruinous spirit of *Radicalism, (not true economy,)* that president Monroe, immediately after, came out with his firm and

enlightened inaugural address, in which, reprobating that fluctuating, wasteful and ruinous policy, which, as it regarded our valuable institutions, changes with the state of the Treasury, and under the pretext of poverty, would pull down, or neglect, or lay waste, in one year, what it was wise, economical and safe to have built up the year before; he declares that "our great resources remained untouched," and that for any purpose which may affect "the vital interests of the nation, they are inexhaustible." Mr. Crawford, in his report, cries out retrench or cut down, &c. or you must resort to internal taxes, the bug-bear he always held up. Mr. Monroe says "our great resources remain untouched."—That "they are more especially to be found in the virtue, patriotism and intelligence of our fellow-citizens, and the devotion with which they would yield up by any just measure of taxation, all their property *in support of the rights and honor of their country.*" (See the Journals of Congress—Mr. Monroe's second inaugural address and Mr. Crawford's annual report.

2. His course has been *hidden*, because by the solemn mandate of the House of Representatives in 1818, he was required to report to the next session on the subject of internal improvements, which he has, up to this day refused to do, knowing, (as we must suppose,) that if he reported favorably, either on the expediency or constitutionality of such a system, he would lose the great bulk of his Virginia, North Carolina and Georgia friends, with whom he is popular as a supposed enemy to internal improvements, and if unfavorably, he would lose his friends in New York, Pennsylvania and other states, who are the strenuous advocates of such a system.

3. That his course has been *doubtful*, is evinced by the cloud of ambiguity and mystery in which he seems disposed to envelope his opinions generally, and particularly whenever he is steering between two great conflicting parties or interests, both of which he is anxious to conciliate. I will give an example or two, in his annual report of the 13th December, 1819, upon the subject of the *Tariff*. He says "under all the circumstances, it is respectfully submitted, that the public interest

requires that the revenue be augmented, *or* that the expenditures be diminished." "*Should* an increase of the revenue be deemed expedient, a portion of the deficit may be supplied by an addition to the duties now imposed upon various articles of foreign merchandize, and by a reasonable duty upon sales at auction, but it is not probable that any modification of the existing Tariff can supersede the necessity of resorting to internal taxation, if the expenditure is not diminished. Should Congress deem it expedient to modify the present rate of duties *with a view to that protection*, to our cotton and woollen and iron manufactures, which is necessary to secure to them the domestic market, the necessity of resorting to a system of internal taxation will be augmented. It is believed that *the present is a favorable moment* for affording efficient protection to that *increasing and important interest*, if it can be done consistently with the general interest of the nation."

Now reader, what can you make of such an opinion as this? It is literally

"Point look out, and point look in,
Point, no point, and point again."

I hope it will not be treating with too much levity, so grave a subject, by supposing the honorable Secretary to be seated between two of his distinguished, yet warm friends, Governor Dickerson of New Jersey, a strenuous advocate of the Tariff, himself, deeply interested in the manufacture of iron, and Governor Barbour of Virginia, a gentleman as violently opposed to the system. To Governor D. he, (Mr. Crawford,) says "the revenue must be *augmented*." To Governor B. "*or* the expenditure must be diminished."

To the former, "the *revenue* may be increased by additional duties on various articles of foreign merchandize."

To the latter, "but it is not probable that any modification of the existing Tariff can prevent a resort to internal taxation, *if* the expenditure be not diminished."

To the former, "should Congress modify the Tariff so as to afford that protection to *cotton, woollen and iron*

which will give them the domestic market," why then, Gov. B. "the necessity of internal taxes will be augmented."

I really believe Gov. D. that "*the present is a favorable moment for affording efficient protection to that increasing and important interest*" (cotton, wool and iron,) turning to Gov. B. "*if it can be done consistently with the general interest of the nation!*"

If the reader will examine the remainder of the report touching this subject, he will find it still wrapt up "in all the ambiguity of a response from the Delphic Oracle." From it we can collect but one thing certain, viz., that the expenditures *must* be reduced, (whether it cuts down the Navy, or impedes fortifications, &c.) or we must be visited by that greatest of all terrors, "a system of internal taxes."

I do not intend to enter into an examination of *all* Mr. Crawford's reports to shew him friendly to the Tariff, for if it were necessary, I am not so fortunate as "the Author" of Mr. Crawford's book, in having access to *all* these reports; and it could not be expected that I should rely on the partial scraps of quotations which that book furnishes. I am willing to admit that in his overweaning spirit of conciliation he, although the officer appointed to shed light on all these subjects, in most instances, gets astraddle of the proposition, and leaves the question exactly where he found it, without receiving one ray of light from the plaistic power of his genius. It is sufficient for my purpose, to know that in answer to a resolution of Congress, he did recommend a higher duty on cotton bagging, on iron, on cotton cards and on various other articles of prime importance to southern interests than there did exist, when the duties were *ad valorem*, and not specific. It is sufficient for my purpose, to know, that although the most of his reports leave the subject in so questionable a shape, that each side of this momentous question may and do claim him as friendly to their respective interests; yet on the 31st December, 1824, when it was well ascertained that a majority of Congress were friendly to the Tariff, a flood of light bursts in upon him, and he volunteers a declaration. un-

asked for by Congress, and not rendered necessary by the occasion, "that if it be deemed advisable to give increased extension or activity to the Navy, or to aid in objects of internal improvements," (two of the most popular topics he could have touched,) "such additional means as were required, might be obtained by a judicious revision of the Tariff." It was then found that such a measure "*without being onerous to the community, would be advantageous to the revenue, and beneficial to the manufactures of the country.*"

It is sufficient for me to know, that if Mr. Crawford had felt the measure, (in any view of it,) to have been *unconstitutional*, or calculated to rob one class of his fellow citizens, to put into the pockets of another class, he could and would, as an honest patriot attached to *southern* rights, have said so, or have intimated it, in such a way, as to have been intelligible, without trenching upon that delicacy possessed by a man of honor, or due to the office he held.

If I may be allowed to quote the same kind of authority, repeatedly referred to by "the Author" of Mr. Crawford's book, I can aver that I have high authority for saying that Mr. Crawford did assure Mr. Baldwin, (whose bill four years ago, was far more objectionable than the bill, as passed by the house at its last session,) that his, (Mr. B's) bill met his approbation, with but some slight revision or modification. This Mr. Baldwin will not deny, and all will recollect that Mr. Baldwin's was avowedly a bill *for protection*, and not a bill *for revenue*. If Mr. Crawford had not been distinctly understood, at least among the Tariff advocates, to be friendly to the scheme, there are other members, now amongst his warmest friends, besides Governor Dickerson, who would not have supported his pretensions to the presidency for a moment.

4. The next objection to Mr. C. in his office as Secretary, is his *weakness*—of which, I will give this memorable instance, that in his annual report of 1820, in marshalling "the ways and means" of the nation, he did make an undoubted blunder of about \$ 3,000,000 against the revenue. His friends were driven to confess

this, though Mr. C. endeavored to screen himself from the imputation in two or three successive amendatory reports.

If this was not a blunder arising from *weakness*, it must have arisen from *design*.—A design probably to cut down the influence of the Army and Navy, which from their perfect organization, &c. were said to be rapidly rising in Mr. C's way. Be this as it may, Mr. C. is driven to one or the other of these alternatives.

It could not be the effect of *inattention*, because in his subsequent reports, he endeavors to justify the error.

5. The next objection goes to shew that Mr. Crawford's conduct as Secretary, was *illegal and unconstitutional*. I allude to the charges preferred by Ninian Edwards. For my purpose, Mr. Edwards' character or motive, whether good or bad, is perfectly immaterial, *for the truth of the charges do not at all depend on his testimony*. The question is as to Mr. Crawford's conduct, and although the committee screen him from corrupt motive, yet they admit some parts of his conduct to have been "irregular and dangerous." They admit in fact, the truth of the four following essential allegations which are established beyond a question, viz :

That he received *uncurrent and depreciated* paper from the bank of Missouri, and other banks to a large amount, when he might have demanded, and it was his duty to have demanded *cash*.

That in numerous instances, he had made *State* banks the depositories of public money, and gave them standing deposits to near a million of dollars, *without reporting to Congress any reason for withholding the deposits from the bank of the United States, which the act of Congress positively requires*.

That he loaned to several banks in the District of Columbia, which were under great pressure, large sums of public money without interest, whilst the government was borrowing money on interest.—That to one of the banks of Alexandria, a loan of \$50,000 or near that sum, was made to enable it to wind up its business, and that this sum is lost to the government.

This was both *unconstitutional and illegal*. It is said

these loans were sanctioned by the President. To implicate this distinguished officer in so serious a charge, the nation would require *some evidence*, of which, not a particle has been offered. But the allegation is utterly *unfounded in fact*.

I need not descant on the alarming nature of a practice so scrupulously guarded against both by constitution and law. If without the sanction of these, an officer can lend the funds of the nation, either to acquire popularity, or from pure benevolence, then every ligament of confidence which binds the government to the people, is destroyed.

The fourth charge admitted by the committee, is that in more than one instance, when the secretary was called on to transmit certain information to the House of Representatives, he suppressed or kept back, a part of the information clearly embraced within the call, and which was material to a right understanding of the subject. I especially refer to documents relating to the case of Africans smuggled into Georgia.

A prosecution against D. B. Mitchell, a friend of Mr. C. was kept back, until it was too late, as determined by the Judge of the Federal court, under the act of Congress, though Gen. Mitchell, as Indian agent, was subsequently tried for his agency in this transaction, and dismissed from office by the President. (See Mr. Wirt's opinion as attorney general, on Mitchell's case.)

I have now mentioned some of the principal objections which at present occur to me against Mr. Crawford as Secretary of the Treasury, with only some of the many proofs by which they are sustained. I have merely *mentioned* them, because I had neither time nor room, in so hurried a production as this, to recite at large, even those documents within my reach—the most of them are however matters of general concession and notoriety.

Again,

11. I object to Mr. Crawford because he is now openly supported by his principal friends in Virginia, (who may be presumed to know his private opinions best,) as an enemy to internal improvements, both on the ground of their *inexpediency* and *unconstitutionality*

I believe a system of the kind, judiciously undertaken, and energetically and *economically* prosecuted, will do more to facilitate and cherish internal commerce, enrich the country, render us impregnable in time of war, cement the various parts of the Union, and thereby perpetuate its liberties and ensure its duration, than perhaps any other plan that has ever been thought of by our wisest patriots.

12. Because I view him as not only unfriendly to a national system of internal improvements, but that his popularity so far as it goes, is now principally founded on a pledge, that he will, if elected, pursue that *Radical, creeping policy*, which, ever fearful of resorting to taxes, would cut down our Army even from its present small size, stop our essential fortifications, and impede the progress of our Navy, upon which, greatly depend our peace, safety and liberty, at almost every crisis of the country, but particularly when the crowned heads of Europe, "the Holy Alliance" are conspiring against the liberties of mankind, and want only to see us weak and defenceless, to prostrate the germe of freedom in this happy land!

Herein is the difference between the policy which Mr. Monroe is pursuing, and has solemnly inculcated in every message he has delivered, and in which he is heartily seconded by Jackson, Adams, Calhoun, and in truth, all his distinguished officers, as well as the nation; and the Radical party to which Mr. Crawford is devoted. The former do not disregard *economy*—on the contrary, *true economy*, is the distinguishing trait of the administration, but it is that economy which is founded upon the permanent institutions and prosperity of the country—which would not hesitate to expend a million this year, to avoid the expenditure of 50 or 100 millions in a war, a few years hence, which a weak, inefficient and fluctuating policy would invite. That the principal part of those devoted to Mr. C. and to which indeed, *he is devoted*, would pursue this fluctuating, temporising policy; their conduct for five years back in Congress, will abundantly attest. Even the Military Academy at West Point, the only institution where the all-important ele-

ments of that science, which will enable us to defend ourselves, are taught, has been, from session to session, assailed by a party of that horror struck, and tax-fearing interest!

The author of Mr. Crawford's book, who seems to be so puzzled for the definition of Radicalism, may here fairly infer my explanation of it.

13. I object to him because he does not combine in his favor, any large body of the people—on the contrary, almost every possible indication daily evinces, that he is less popular than any one of the candidates—certainly far less popular than two of them. It need not be urged that in a free government, it is of vast importance that our Chief Magistrate should be sustained by the people to make us prosperous in peace, and successful in war.

14. Because being destitute of the requisite popularity, the artifice of a caucus has been resorted to, to force Mr. Crawford upon the nation, in spite of, and directly against *the will of the people*, and the fundamental principles of our government. This was not only a *Congressional* caucus, tending to distract the members from their *designated* duties, and to corrupt their purity, should the election devolve upon them, but it was a small *minority* caucus, not warranted even by those dangerous party times, which gave rise to other meetings of the same kind, and utterly precluded the idea of any thing like a fair expression of the public will.

The stratagem and combination resorted to in New York, to force Mr. C. upon the people of that great state, against the declared voice of the people, are of a kind with the caucus at Washington.

15. Because in despite of our interest, and the solemn admonitory advice of Washington, Mr. C's friends are now exerting themselves to create an odious and dangerous jealousy between North, South and West; to sow the seeds of that disaffection which in springing up to maturity, will threaten a dis-union of these happy states; and this to ensure his popularity at the South.

For proofs of this, see the address of a meeting at Milledgeville, Geo. on the 'Tariff', signed by a committee of five, with Mr. Joel Crawford at their head. in which

this spirit of jealousy in the South, is inculcated by allegations that the government has disbursed the national revenue *at the North*, in almost all the public establishments, such as the Military Academy, Navy Yards, Armories, &c. in which the interests of the South have been disregarded. To excite a jealousy against the *West*, it is more than intimated, that the national funds have been expended there, (alluding to the Yellow-stone expedition, &c. up the Missouri, &c.) *to favor the West* without a due regard to the general good. What renders such efforts more suspicious, is, that they are made at local or sectional *meetings* at the South, instead of remonstrating in a firm and manly way, to the proper organ for a remedy of the evils, *if such really exist*.

Another memorable proof of this disposition, is offered by Mr. Crawford's book, wherein it is insisted upon, that should Mr. Adams be elected, we may expect "restrictions upon state sovereignties, which shall end in the abolition of slavery, by emancipation among us." This assertion is utterly groundless, for although Mr. Adams is not my favorite for the Presidency, yet as a matter of common justice, I feel bound to state from authority quite satisfactory to my mind, and higher than the writer of this book has given for much he has said, that Mr. Adams was, in heart and in sentiment, opposed utterly to touching, what is usually called "the Missouri question." I firmly believe that no man in the Union would be more unwilling to defeat, or in any way, molest that part of our Federal compact which has its bases in a solemn recognition of this population, as it existed at the time of its adoption.

This "Author" more than once, brings to our remembrance that the Northern and Eastern states, who are, from principle, opposed to slavery, are the *most numerous, the strongest*. In the name of Heaven then, where is the policy of *our* disturbing the question?—Of *our* exciting a premature jealousy against our Northern and Eastern brethren upon this score!—Our course should be peace and conciliation, not from fear, but from principle; relying upon their faith and the plighted faith of the nation to do us justice, and if necessary, to protect us

in our sacred rights. —Indeed, I have heard a very sensible gentleman, perhaps as deeply interested in this species of property as any other, avow it to be our policy to elect a Northern or Eastern President, (he mentioned Mr. Adams,) upon the ground of general conciliation and harmony. Let us rely then with a due degree of confidence and magnanimity, knowing that the indulgence of ill-blood, hatred and jealousy, will more than every other cause, give rise to Missouri questions, and those dangerous and distracting subjects of discord which may threaten our Union. *We have rights which must be held sacred, and an attempt to infringe them, would rally every man, woman and child in the Southern states, around one common standard, for their defence.* For myself, I have no fears upon this very delicate subject;* and it is with pain I see it dragged into this discussion for party purposes, to help a candidate on to the object of his ambition.

I am not however, about to enter upon the defence of Mr. Adams, for if I had time or talent to do so, the charges exhibited in Mr. Crawford's book need no defence. He is accused of having been a Federalist, when every Republican President, for more than twenty years, has

* It is a fact which will be remembered by many Southern members of Congress, that the most zealous advocates of the Missouri restriction, were heartily sick of it, before the matter ended. The question among them, was, *who* should incur the odium of *giving way*, and when a sufficient number did *recede* to carry the question in our favor, Mr. Sargeant himself, the leading speaker on that side, declared that he rejoiced that the matter was at rest. The truth is, that the Northern people, by the discussion and progress of that distracting debate, became better acquainted with our situation and more thoroughly impressed with a conviction, that the Southern states never would permit their rights to be invaded. It is but just to state however, that all the *restrictionists* from the beginning, declared that this was not their object; and I do most conscientiously believe that distant, very distant, will be that day, when Northern men will have the hardihood to attempt disturbing the compact which secures our rights.

So far from wishing to throw my countrymen off their guard, I would exhort to vigilance;—At the same time, however, I would wait to have some evidence upon which, to condemn a distinguished statesman, before I would brand him with the charge of animosity to our interests.—I would not raise a quarrel with the strongest party about them, before they were assailed.—I would not renew a contest by holding up past jealousies and remembrances, which might otherwise, forever be dormant, especially when no possible good is to be attained by it.

I refrain from entering into the many and powerful reasons, which, upon commercial principles, as well as every other, ought now emphatically to unite the Southern and Eastern states.

conferred upon him the highest offices in the government, as marks of their distinguished confidence, and this too by the eulogist of a man whose first known act in political life, stamped him with the unequivocal test of a Federalist, and who is now endeavoring to gather strength through the agency of Timothy Pickering, H. G. Otis, the N. York Evening Post, and other distinguished *Federal* men and presses. He is accused of being a friend to the Tariff *without proof*, and when four fifths, perhaps nine tenths of the state which supports him and gave him birth, (I believe I may add of New England generally,) are deeply interested *in commerce*, and directly opposed to exorbitant protecting duties.

Neither will I be driven into a defence of Gen. Jackson, the man to whom I would confide the vessel of state, and who has been so unjustly assailed in the book before me. That he too, has his imperfections, I am ready to admit, but I can never be persuaded that it would be necessary, in his native state, to defend him from the assaults of a writer, whose heaviest charges against him must forever stand as monuments of his decision, wisdom, and due subordination to the laws of his country. I mean the execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister, by which he put an end to the effusions of the blood of our innocent and unoffending women and children, and which he had an unquestionable right to do, both by the laws of God and man; and the salvation of New Orleans, of the Western country, perhaps of the Union itself, by a temporary declaration of martial law.—By a resort to the great first principle of self preservation, he immortalized himself by saving a section of country of the most vital importance to the integrity of the whole; and the moment the necessity for this wise exertion of his energy ceased, he gave one of the most illustrious examples of subordination to, and veneration of the laws of the land, which can be found in history. He not only surrendered himself a prisoner to the civil authority for a necessary disobedience to its mandate, but cheerfully paid the fine imposed, though by a single nod, the people would have paid it for him, or have rescued him from the grasp of the law.

Great, however, as is the debt of gratitude we owe him for his marvellous military services, yet I do not support him for the Chief Magistracy upon this ground. His exalted talents, his ardent love of country, the purity of his character, the impartiality with which he would regard every part of the continent, the sagacity with which he would select his confidential officers, and above all, the inflexible fidelity with which he would prosecute the wise and enlightened course of policy adopted by his distinguished predecessor; these, I say, furnish the grounds upon which I support his claims to the high office. Whilst I thus avow my partiality for Jackson, I am by no means insensible to the sterling merit, perfect political discipline, great acquirements and talents, and correct principles of Mr. Adams. Should our country deem him *best* qualified to fill the station, I should rest satisfied, because *principles* and *measures*, and not *men*, are my objects, and I believe Jackson and Adams to be so identified in these cardinal points, that they would both pursue substantially the same political course.—That the nation would receive the advantages of the same enlightened counsels in the event of the success of either the one or the other.

There is scarcely a doubt, however, but that South-Carolina will continue inflexibly to support her favorite son Jackson; and although by the political artifice of “the Author,” and other partizans of Mr. Crawford, *he* has lately been shuffled out of the contest, yet every indication of the public sentiment warns us of his increasing prospects of success. It would indeed be a master-stroke in the game which Mr. Crawford is playing, to get the irresistibly increasing popularity of Jackson out of his way, and then to have the easier task of prostrating Mr. Adams by an unfounded jealousy upon the Missouri question. This cannot be effected; for as “*the reign of error in South-Carolina,*” according to the author of Mr. Crawford’s book, “*cannot be terminated in a day,*” so neither can the second saviour of his country, be dethroned from the affections of an admiring people, in a day, a year, or even for ages. All the management of the cunningest contrivers, cannot blot from a nations grat-

itude, an abiding remembrance of Jackson's services and virtues. If he ascends to the most exalted station known to a republican government, it will be upon the affections and supported by the feelings of ten millions of freemen. If Mr. Crawford attains it, I verily believe it will be principally by the combined agency of political managers and anxious expectants of office, directly against the wishes and feelings of the great bulk of the people.

As noticed in the outset, I intended to confine myself simply to a specification of the objections against Mr. Crawford. The reader will find an apology for the slight departure made, in the nature of the subject, and the complexion of some of the changes so artfully made by "the author of the address." I trust I shall be excused in a few remarks in answer to that part of it, which stigmatizes South-Carolina as being obnoxious to the charges of "*uncertainty in politics*," and submitting to "*the reign of error*." The words of "the author," are "had our vigilance been awakened upon the first display of such a departure from republican principles, South-Carolina would not now be charged with *uncertainty of politics*. To return to them is perhaps not now practicable. *The reign of error is not so evanescent as to be terminated in a day.*" &c.

Let every honest South-Carolinian, freeing himself from passion and prejudice, ask *how* and *when* did our state make this departure from *Republican principles*? Was it in the election and support of Mr. Jefferson, of Mr. Madison, and of Mr. Monroe, and their respective administrations? Was it in an indignant resentment of the injuries inflicted on us by Great Britain and France previously to 1812, which had nearly reduced us to a second state of colonization, or the ardent zeal and unyielding firmness with which we supported the late war, which grew out of these injuries? Have we departed from *the true faith*, laid ourselves open to the charge "of *uncertainty in politics*," or submitted to "*a reign of error*," because we have heartily sanctioned and supported the leading measures of Mr. Monroe's policy, which are based upon the experience of the late eventful

war, and consecrated by the blood of our best citizens? Here, my brethren of South Carolina, we indeed find "the head and front of our offending."

We have seen that Mr. Crawford opposed some important points even of Mr. Jefferson's policy—of Mr. Madison's, and that he has been gradually diverging from Mr. Monroe, and in many instances, directly opposed to him, (judging from his inseparable friends and partizans,) although he had a seat in his counsels. His friends openly declared this administration wasteful, extravagant, and anti-republican, and here has risen up a writer within three months of the next presidential election, substantially claiming for Mr. Crawford the benefit of these allegations, and denouncing South-Carolina as *heretical*, "*uncertain*," and subject to "*a reign of error*," because she disbelieved them, and stedfastly supported Mr. Monroe. *Carolina has no such blind or idolatrous veneration for any man, as has, or ever will lead her to sacrifice principles.* It is her lofty devotion to principles, which has led this writer to single her out from that part of the politicians of two of her sister states, Virginia and Georgia, who have acted from more fluctuating and grovelling political views, and who are devoted to Mr. Crawford!—Who distrusting the virtue of the people, and without looking at the true principle of *economy*, viz. whether the measures proposed, are calculated to ensure the peace, liberty, and prosperity of the country, would discard them under the paltry fear that the people *might* be taxed.

If I were asked, what are and have been the *politics of South-Carolina*, now denounced as *uncertain* and *erroneous*, I would proudly appeal to the policy of Washington, of Jefferson, of Madison, and of Monroe, for a solution of the question, and demand to be informed in what instance she had infringed or come short?—I would more especially refer to the proud monuments of Monroe's wisdom, because they are founded upon that universal touchstone which tests every thing human, and because the supposed error for which our state is denounced has arisen from a rigid and fearless adherence to that policy, *although it has led to the rejection*

tion of Mr. Crawford. Can any one in his senses, believe that we should be held up as *fluctuating, uncertain, and erroneous* in politics ; if we had united with Virginia and Georgia in support of *him*, who may be emphatically termed “the Radical candidate.” Yea, “the very chief of the Radicals?” In referring to the inaugural speeches and annual messages of Mr. Monroe, for a fair text of Carolina politics, I cheerfully submit to the nation how far that text may have received a just and appropriate commentary from the labors of Lowndes, Calhoun, Cheves, McDuffie, Hayne, and other sons, identified with her rise, cherished in her growth, and endeared to her by every principle which can bind faithful agents to an admiring people. If *they* have been true and consistent—so has been Carolina. If *they*, (who have lived to practice virtue and adorn humanity,) have adhered to the *Republican standard* ; so has Carolina, and thus she stands exonerated from the charges of *uncertainty and error*.

The truth is, that these imputations against us, are of a piece with that, in the same book, which charges upon the officers of the administration, a coalition among themselves, and with Gen. Jackson, unjustly and unfairly to defeat the election of Mr. Crawford. What an audacious and affronting charge ! I would hope that there is not a considerate man in the nation, who would not repel it. One fact I will frankly admit, and that is, that they are *all* opposed to his political elevation ; but opposed *from principle*, and not by coalition. They are opposed just as the most of those illustrious men, drawn from various parts of the Union and fit to fill such high stations, would be opposed to him, if collected together. Is it wonderful that *they* should oppose his election, when *the people*, in at least, 22 out of 24 states oppose it ? This is shewn by the convocation of thousands, almost daily, from one end of the continent to the other, speaking the strongest language in favor of Jackson or Adams, whilst we find but very few meetings, and those very small, in favor of Mr. C.—Strange idea indeed, that because there is a very general opposition to him, and because Jackson, Adams, Calhoun, McLean, Wirt, and

Southard, (names sacred to virtue and liberty,) are all opposed to him ; there must necessarily be an unprincipled coalition to defeat him ! It augurs badly of the *man* and of the *cause*, that there is so unanimous an opposition among characters so high and so pure. It augurs badly that even in Georgia, his adopted state, the legislature at its last session, and upon a direct question, refused to intrust the people with the election of electors. Is it strange that South-Carolina should be opposed to such a man ?

Is it marvellous that she should be opposed to a man, who has attained a very high distinction, without even having furnished any act or measure, laying a just foundation for such distinction ?

Thus have I, (contrary to my first intention,) made a few remarks in direct application to some of the points urged in the book, and presented my objections to Mr. Crawford as a statesman.

They prove him in his outset, untrue to the *Republican* party, from which he now claims confidence as the *exclusive* friend—that he was inimical to a Navy—that he retired to a *foreign court* during the war, when the most devoted exertions of our patriot statesmen were required *at home*—that immediately after, he ambitiously aspired to the Executive Department of the Nation against Monroe, when not thought of by the Nation—that he has been *warering, hidden, and feeble* in his official course, illegally and unconstitutionally loaning the public money—contumaciously resisting the authority of the House of Representatives of Congress ; both in refusing to report on a subject of vital importance, and to yield documents and information required of him—that he is inimical to *Southern interest* under the specious guise of being its only friend—against the great internal improvements of the nation—devoted to a policy which, under the supposed popular pretext of *saving money*, would neglect and prostrate the defences of the country, invite foreign aggression, and waste our lives and treasure.—Disposed to inflame the *South* against the *North*, to unite the Southern States in his favour, *just before the Presidential election*, and finally, without that popular-

ity necessary in a republican government to exalt him to the object of his ambition, *a educus* and other artifices with the agency of some of the most leading *Northern* federalists and presses are resorted to, to seat him in power, against the first idea and true spirit of a republican government, THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE.

If either passion, prejudice, or a want of correct information, *may* have have carried me too far on some points, the error has been *unintentional*. In the main, I am sure I cannot be mistaken, for I have for years been a close observer of his political course. I have carefully refrained from intermeddling with those objections against him, which have split the State of Georgia into two great, and nearly equally divided parties, for a series of years. The writer of his book urges that "he is amiable, honest and intelligent, (it is conceived he means,) *in private life*. If it be so, let him enjoy the full benefit of such a reputation. I shall not go to Georgia, the scene of his early aspirations, and contests, to disturb the question. It is as a politician alone that I have viewed him. It would have been well, had the task fallen on other hands, for added to a want of proper qualifications, I have not had an opportunity of even copying a production, intended in the outset, only as one or two numbers in the public prints. It is still hoped that an abler pen will undertake, in a more enlarged and critical form, such a duty. It is true, I did not, nor do I now, suppose that an answer to the book, would be at all necessary to guide, or in any way to influence or alter the vote of South-Carolina. A fact, of which the writer himself seems to despair. But I regarded it as due to the honor and elevated republican principles of my native state, so far as I could, to vindicate her orthodoxy, and to give condensation and point to her honest objections to the Georgia candidate. In fine, to evince to our sister states, that deeply as we are charged to be involved in *error* and delusion, and *uncertain* as may be our politics, we have sagacity enough to tell when an unfit candidate presents himself for our approval, and firmness and nationality enough to reject him in despite of a party appeal made to our prejudices and jealousies as *Southern men*. A SOUTH-CAROLINIAN.



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